Judith Sacher
2

THE

COUNTRY GENTLEMAN's

ADVICE

TO

HIS SON,

On his Coming of AGE, in the Year 1755,

With Regard to his

POLITICAL CONDUCT.

Shewing, amongſt other Things,

The Folly and pernicious Conſequences

OF ALL

PARTY CLUBS.

Decipimur ſpecie recti. HOR.

LONDON:
Printed for W. OWEN, near *Temple-Bar.* 1755.
(Price One Shilling.)

BRITISH MUSEUM

Advertiſement of the Bookſeller.

IT ſignifies nothing to inform the courteous reader, how theſe papers fell into my hands; 'tis enough they were wrote upon a real occaſion that happened in the country: if he wants to hear further particulars, let him buy ſomething at my ſhop, and I'll tell him all I know of the matter in a whiſper, upon condition not to divulge it. But one ſecret I may let him into now, becauſe he would find it out by his own ſagacity, without my telling him: the author was certainly a very odd ſort of a man, and a great humouriſt: I wonder where he was bred, and brought up, that he don't underſtand his mother tongue! Why, the very eſſence of loyalty conſiſts in being loyal to the miniſters, going thro' ſtitch with them in any dirty work they have to do: and an Independent, in our language, ſignifies one that makes it his buſineſs to thwart and growl at them upon every turn; for, pray now, how ſhall a man ſhew his independence otherwiſe than by oppoſition;

if he goes to juſtify any court-meaſure, I have a right to ſuppoſe he has his private reaſons, that oblige him to ſpeak againſt his conſcience.

What an outlandiſh doctrine! to preach up a juſt confidence in our governors, without an implicit faith! I inſiſt upon it, as an undoubted verity, that they always act right,---or always wrong: 'tis an article of Engliſh *faith; 'tis an innate principle of our climate; we ſuck it in with our ale, and breathe it in the fumes of our coffee. Preferment is an apotheoſis; every miniſter, whatever he were before, muſt neceſſarily be an angel, ---either of light or darkneſs. The only queſtion that will admit of a diſpute, and I hope will never find a ſolution, is, which ſort of angel he muſt be.*

How abſurd is it to pretend the general good, by propagating notions that tend manifeſtly to the decay of trade, which is the ſupport and ſtrength of this nation! For take away party heats, deprive us of the inexhauſtible theme of politics, as he calls it, and what muſt the poor book-

ſellers

ſellers do, that deal in modern wares? They may e'en ſave houſe-rent and dues; for they might carry their whole ſtock about the ſtreets with an aſs and a ſand cart. What muſt the numerous tribe of hackney writers do? One half of them, if they were not taken into court-pay, would find no body elſe who would think them worth any pay at all; and the other half, having no clean wit to vend, muſt ſtarve, were it not for the conſtant demand there is for their dirt, to beſpatter their betters.

Then let's ſee how the publick peace is like to ſuffer by theſe whimſies. When a gentleman has liv'd long enough in this foggy climate, to outgrow his taſte for dreſs, and reliſh of faſhionable diverſions, he is naturally over-run with the ſpleen, which he muſt vent ſomewhere; he muſt fret and fume, and ſcold at ſomebody or other for his health-ſake; if you will not let them ſquabble at one another, about treaties, and ſubſides, and taxes, their wives, or their children, or their ſervants, or their whores, will ſuffer cruelly by the prohibition; and ſo, forſooth, you will go

to raiſe diſturbances in families for the ſake of peace; or when they go abroad they will find fault with their wine or their coffee; and thus an honeſt tradeſman muſt break, becauſe he cannot put off ſuch liquors as a man may afford to live by.

In ſhort, I found the whole piece ſo unſuitable to the taſte of the times, that I was perſuaded it would never ſell, and was juſt going to return it back to the perſon who brought it me, when a ſudden thought ſhot into my noddle, that determined me to a publication. For, ſays I to myſelf, if I ſhould loſe by this impreſſion, it may give occaſion to other performances that may turn to my advantage; and what prudent man would not venture the charge of a little ſeed, in proſpect of reaping a plentiful harveſt? When the ſacred ſhrine of politicks is baſphem'd, the town will be in an uproar; there will be a general voice crying out, Great is the *Diana* of *Epheſus! The wire-drawers and varniſh-makers on both ſides, that uſed to work for the goddeſs, finding their livelihood attack'd, will draw*

their

their ſharpeſt pens in her defence, and in ſuch an effuſion of ink, ſome of it ſure muſt run into my ſhop.

I flatter myſelf the champions will come to me, preferably to any other, in gratitude for having open'd them a new career to exerciſe their proweſs in, which they very much ſtand in need of; for, I have obſerv'd, they are forc'd to dance in a circle, ſaying the ſame things a hundred times over, for want of more ground to expatiate upon. Beſides, they are obliged to me for the opportunity here preſented, of fighting once in their lives, all on the ſame ſide, againſt a common enemy. I'll promiſe to puff them off to the town as well as any body elſe ſhall do. I'll find a place for the light-arm'd ſoldier in ſome news-paper of his own ſtamp; if he be but an attorney's clerk, that has juſt powder enough to furniſh out a ſquib in a letter to the printer; or an apprentice that can tie up a knot of crackers, by way of quæries, to the worthy citizens of London.

And

And for our ſtudents in politics, who generouſly neglect their own affairs, to mind thoſe of the public; whether they be Loyaliſts, that ſhew their affections to the King, by worſhipping every diminutive ray of his power; or Independents, that are ſatisfied within themſelves they know how to drive the chariot of government better than any upon the box; I hope they will take a copy off my hands, to encourage an induſtrious honeſt man, that is running a hazard to procure them new ſcenes of entertainment.

THE

THE

Country Gentleman's Advice

TO

HIS SON.

HITHERTO, my dear ſon, your application has been confined to ſcholaſtic learning, and thoſe exerciſes that your tutors thought proper for the education of a gentleman; wherein, to my great ſatisfaction, you have made ſo good a progreſs, as preſages you will, one day, be an honour to your family, and a uſeful member of the community: but the knowledge of books alone will not make you valuable; they are only a ſolid foundation, whereon to build the

knowledge of men and things. Your attainment of that age, which our law conſiders as the completion of manhood, calls upon you to turn your thoughts from points of ſpeculation to thoſe practical obſervations that may direct your behaviour in the ſtate of life you are now entering upon: and as it is both my duty and my pleaſure to take every opportunity that offers of guiding your unexperienced ſteps towards this new ſcience of the world, either by my example or advice, I ſhall lay before you my own conduct, upon an occaſion that has lately happened, together with a full view of the reaſons whereon it was grounded.

You know, that two clubs of Whigs and Tories, though called by other names, have been ſet up in this neighbourhood, in oppoſition to each other. Your father has yet adhered to a neutrality that is almoſt become ſingular; not from an affectation of ſingularity, but from a conviction of judgment. For, being willing to comply with the

faſhion,

faſhion, if, by any means he could ſatisfy himſelf it were allowable, he has taken the matter under ſerious deliberation, and endeavoured to ſearch it to the bottom, with an attention that, perhaps, thoſe, who do not know the circumſtances of the caſe, will think greater than it deſerves.

And as he has beſtowed more thoughts upon it, than he will probably ever do again, he ſets them down upon paper, that if any of them ſhould appear unſuitable to your preſent taſte and capacity, they may remain as a picture of your father's ſentiments hereafter, when he ſhall be no longer able to inſtruct you by word of mouth, and may ſerve as a mark to direct you, in forming your obſervations upon the world you are to converſe with.

Should this ſpirit of diviſion and animoſity go forth into all parts of the kingdom, who can tell the worſt of its conſequences? As yet, I hope, it is confined to this ſpot; for perſons at

a diſtance, to whom I have mentioned our clubs, could ſcarce believe me that an affair of that nature was carried on with ſo much earneſtneſs as I ſee it is; or that the antiquated names of Whig and Tory, diſtinguiſhed here by the names of Yellow and Blue, are ſtill in vogue in any corner of the country. If the contagion ſpreads no further, no thanks to thoſe who are indefatigable in gaining proſelytes, and do all they can to ſcatter groundleſs terrors, that may be productive of real miſchiefs.

The danger moſt to be apprehended, is that of being made to look upon one another as dangerous. This, if it once became general, would deprive us of that vigour and unanimity neceſſary to defend our juſt rights againſt a foreign rival, who is always plotting to undermine us, who makes no ſcruple to carry on hoſtilities under the maſk of peace, and has actually ſeized upon a part of his majeſty's territories: it would diſcourage all application and honeſt induſtry in any trade or profeſſion;

ſeſſion; when the phyſician, or counſel, the mechanic, or ſhopkeeper, muſt not expect to be reſorted to for his ſkill, or expertneſs, or the goodneſs of his wares, but for the ſtaunchneſs of his politics: it would ſpoil good neighbourhood, by making every one ſhy and jealous of all around him: it would take away that laſt mark of liberty, freedom of thought; when a man muſt not preſume to think well or ill of any public meaſure, for fear of diſguſting, and almoſt quarrelling with, the company, and forfeiting his credit with them for common ſenſe and common honeſty.

But, God be thanked, we have not now ſo many domeſtic enemies, ſo many lurking ſerpents within our doors, as that we need to affright ourſelves. I am fully perſuaded there is no conſiderable number of perſons, who would wiſh to ſubvert our happy conſtitution either in church or ſtate. We have read in hiſtory, and heard from our fathers, of cruel diſſentions that have torn to pieces,

pieces, and almoſt ruined, this kingdom in former times; from whence ſome, in theſe remote parts, have taken the panic, and revived the ancient names of Whig and Tory, without ſufficiently conſidering their import; which is ſo little known by the generality here, that among ten perſons you may often find them giving nine different deſcriptions.

Wherefore to prevent your being enchanted by ſounds, my dear child, and having your paſſions engaged unadviſedly by meer words, before you thoroughly underſtand the meaning of them, in caſe the ſame marks of diſtinction ſhould be continued or renewed again when you enter upon the ſtage, I ſhall endeavour to explain to you the occaſions that firſt gave riſe to thoſe appellations; the changes of ſignification they have undergone; and the grounds of thoſe preſent differences in opinion that ſtill ſubſiſt among us.

King

King *James* I. being of a peaceable, timorous diſpoſition, and extremely attentive to all means of providing for his own ſecurity, thought he could never enough inculcate into his ſubjects the belief of divine hereditary right, and a ſcrupulous unreſerved obedience to the powers which God had ſet over them.

His ſucceſſor, a man of religious principles and upright intentions, but no extraordinary depth of judgment, having imbibed a ſtrong idea of kingly power, from the prejudices of education; and the courtiers, who were moſt of them young men, having heard no other doctrine encouraged or defended within their memories; believed in good earneſt what had before been vented through craft and caution.

In conſequence of this perſuaſion, ſome advances were made towards arbitrary power, and ſome attempts to raiſe money without the concurrence of parliament.

parliament. The pulpit was employed to juſtify the proceedings of the court, and enforce an entire ſubmiſſion to whatever ſhould come from the throne, under pain of damnation. The churchmen, being highly favoured by the king, both upon principle, and from their falling with all their weight into his meaſures, took this advantage of extending their own authority, in proportion to the royal prerogative.

When things were carrying to ſuch lengths, it naturally raiſed up another ſet of men, who were as violent and unreaſonable in the contrary extreme. They prevailed ſo far as to aboliſh both monarchy and epiſcopacy, and overturn the whole conſtitution from its very baſis.

The nation was now reduced to an unnatural ſtate, which it could not long endure. But when once an inclination appeared of reſtoring the ancient form of government, every one, being conſcious that he had ſome way

or other joined in acts which had made him obnoxious to the law, and forfeitures of his life and fortune, ran in with such haste, to atone for past offences, that neither time nor thought was taken for settling the just limits between prerogative and liberty.

Therefore the old contests were quickly renewed: not by open violence; for people, in general, were grown too wise by experience, and had smarted too severely by former confusions, to break out into civil wars; but there were continual heart-burnings and disputes; popular commotions on one side; severe prosecutions on the other; plots and cabals on both.

Then it was the names of Whig and Tory were first thrown out; names taken from an insignificant rabble of rioters and robbers in the mountains of *Scotland* and bogs of *Ireland*; and, being invented as terms of reproach, they must necessarily carry a bad signification.

For nobody would own himſelf to be either Whig or Tory: but whoever called his adverſary a Whig, meant thereby a perſon of factious republican principles, an enemy to monarchy, a deſpiſer of authority; one, who by encouraging ſchiſms, and diſarming the church of all means of defence, wanted to lay her open to the malice of her enemies, and to ſtrip her of all decency and order, under the notion of a rag of popery.

On the other hand, by a Tory was underſtood, an upholder of deſpotic power, who would reduce the people into ſlavery by the doctrines of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance; a hot headed bigot, who would perſecute, if not by fire and faggot, at leaſt by fine and impriſonment, all that preſumed to differ from him, and erect a papal tyranny over the conſciences of mankind.

In the following reign the king's zeal for his religion having over-powered all conſiderations of law, policy, or the fundamental rights of his people; every body became ſenſible that an extraordinary remedy muſt be applied to ſuch an extraordinary caſe, which could not be provided for, becauſe it could not be foreſeen, in the framing of our conſtitution.

And though the partiſans for liberty were principals in the revolution, their antagoniſts, and even the church itſelf, joined or acquieſced in the ſeveral ſteps taken to promote it. The only difference between them was, whether terms ſhould be made with the king, or the crown be placed on another head: for thoſe who held that hereditary right was divine, concluded it therefore to be indefeaſible; becauſe what God had eſtabliſhed, no human authority, nor any act of the party himſelf, could defeat.

This difficulty was quickly got over; and both parties, having acted together in the ſame undertaking, became leſs exaſperated againſt one another, each laying aſide thoſe rigorous tenets that had been the principal ſources of animoſity between them. For paſſive obedience muſt of courſe fall to the ground with divine right, whereon it was founded, compulſion of conſcience was diſavowed, or not inſiſted on. On the other ſide, toleration only was granted; the church was left in poſſeſſion of her teſts, which barred the doors of power and preferment againſt any of whom ſhe might be afraid; and as cloſe a regard as poſſible was paid to hereditary right, by ſettling the ſucceſſion in the neareſt proteſtant line.

By this time people were familiariſed to the names of Whig and Tory; he that was called by either would anſwer to the name; and what were firſt thrown out as terms of obloquy, became

became creditable appellations: they muſt now therefore have a favourable conſtruction, for had they borne any other, no man would have taken them upon himſelf.

As the proſperity of this nation was ſeen to depend upon the eſtabliſhment then ſettled in church and ſtate, a Whig was he that took upon himſelf to guard the latter againſt all attempts that might be made to undermine it; and a Tory was he, that applied his vigilance to prevent any encroachments upon the former.

But the old leven of diſcord being not quite exhauſted, there were ſtill diſputes and jealouſies between the parties; there were continual ſtruggles to gain an aſcendant in the cabinet and the parliament, each ſuſpected the other were preparing to become aſſailants under colour of ſelf-defence: alarms were raiſed of bringing in the Pretender, and mobs were taught to cry out, The church is in danger!

By

By the bleſſing of Heaven, and our own happy experience, theſe bones of contention are now entirely removed; we are unanimous in upholding the form of government, under which we have ſo long flouriſhed in credit abroad, and plenty at home: the church aims at no more power than is neceſſary for her ſupport, and conſequently is neither dreaded or hated by thoſe who cannot join with her.

Therefore, if the words are to be underſtood in their firſt opprobrious ſenſe, there is neither Whig nor Tory among us; if in their milder conſtruction, wherein the bearers were willing to own them, I hope there are few in theſe kingdoms who are not both.

There are indeed ſome conteſts ſubſiſting among us, but theſe turn upon a new point: it is evident the moſt perfect plan of government cannot anſwer the end compleatly, unleſs it be rightly executed. The queſtion then

is,

is, whether our affairs are well or ill adminiſtered; our country produces more perſons of great talents than there are poſts to employ them: if thoſe in poſſeſſion are the more worthy, every one will allow they ought to be ſupported; if the leſs worthy, they ought to give place to their competitors.

Hence the latter are perpetually charging the former with incapacity, ill management, and uſing undue influences to ſecure an authority they could not maintain by their merit. Theſe again charge their rivals with endeavouring to perplex and embroil affairs, in order to render themſelves neceſſary; each ſpreads his claim to ſuperior ability and integrity among his dependents, his friends, and acquaintance, and labours to intereſt the public on his ſide by harangues and pamphlets. By this means the nation is become divided into two ſects, I had rather call them, than parties, for the diſpute is carried on with little more

more warmth than is often ſeen upon points of ſpeculation.

The motives leading men to take either ſide of the queſtion are various, ſome, ſprung from families in the old Tory intereſt, are bred up in a hereditary diſlike of all to whom the helm of government has been handed down from a ſet of the oppoſite denomination.

Some have taken a diſtaſte to particular perſons in power, or have a knowledge and high opinion of others out of it; therefore nothing can be right that is done by the former, or that is not done by the latter.

The noble ſpirit of liberty, ſo natural to this nation, miſleads many into a ſpirit of contradiction; they look upon all tame and quiet ſubmiſſion to the direction of others, as the mark of an abject ſlaviſh diſpoſition: they arraign the proceedings of a government to ſhew they dare to ſpeak their minds; they

they are fond of attacking perſons in the higheſt ſtation, to convince the world they are afraid of no man.

Others are affected with the gloominеſs of our climate, which, too frequently, makes us reſtleſs and diſſatisfied with all about us. A man of this melancholy temperament, is always in the oppoſition; it is impoſſible for any miniſtry to pleaſe or find excuſe with him: for if any alterations ſhould happen, as we have ſeen ſeveral within theſe late years, the very perſons who were high in his eſteem for capacity and probity before, loſe their character in both reſpects, when once they come into play; as if there were ſomething malignant in the air of power, that blaſted the talents, and tainted the integrity of every one who breathed it.

If this were true, methinks one would wiſh an adminiſtration might never be changed, for fear the infection ſhould go round among all our gentle-

men, till there be neither underſtanding nor honeſty left among us.

All theſe, who, from whatever caſt of mind, expreſs a conſtant diſlike to the perſons and proceedings of men in power, our neighbours have been pleaſed to lump under the name of Tories, or Blues.

All others, not actuated by that principle, it is the faſhion here, to entitle Whigs, or Yellows, whoſe general characteriſtic is, an inclination to approve and aſſiſt in the meaſures taken by thoſe whom his Majeſty judges proper to entruſt: but this inclination operates with different force upon different perſons, whom I ſhall therefore diſtribute into two claſſes, and call them, for diſtinction ſake, the Moderate Whigs, and the Violent, or Court Whigs.

The Moderate Whigs, are ſuch as ſubmit their inclination to the controul of their reaſon; they will not depart from

from the natural right, inherent in every *Engliſhman*, of judging for himſelf in matters of publick concern; but they know how to diſtinguiſh between a right of judging for oneſelf and for other people, as alſo between judging and pleading a cauſe.

A judge determines impartially upon the evidence before him, he will not pronounce at all where he has not ſufficent information of the caſe; but to come prepared to ſupport a particular point, to collect the proofs on one ſide, and overlook or reject thoſe on the other, is the buſineſs of an advocate or party.

Therefore they will not ſuffer their underſtandings to be warped by any biaſs; they preſume every man and every action innocent, till the contrary is manifeſted: they are ſteady, but not tenacious, in their opinions, endeavouring to form them upon the beſt lights that offer; unmoveable by clamour or importunity, but

always open to conviction; modeſt in their deciſions, paying a juſt deference to the ſentiments of their company, acknowledging themſelves liable to miſtakes, and ready to embrace truth on what quarter ſoever ſhe ſhall appear.

The Violent Whigs, are thoſe in whom their inclination is to ſtand in the place of reaſon, to be the ground of their aſſent, the director of their judgment, and give the colour to all appearances.

Men are drawn into this, as well as the contrary extreme, by ſeveral cauſes; ſome eſpouſe the ſide their fore-fathers have ever been noted for adhering to.

Some, having received favours, are ſo warmly generous in their gratitude, they think they can never do amiſs in any thing they conceive agreeable to their benefactors.

Some,

Some, of lively imaginations, and forward hopes, are willing to be in the way of preferment, and baſk in the ſun-ſhine of power, figuring to themſelves wonderful fruits that will ripen under that benign influence; or, being admitted to the acquaintance of a great perſonage, imagine the extolling of their friend will redound to their own credit; or, valuing themſelves upon their politeneſs, love to cut their opinions, as well as their cloaths, always after the neweſt court-faſhion.

The greater part, I perſuade myſelf, are animated with a laudable zeal for his Majeſty's honour, which makes them a little too haſty in concluding every doubt or heſitation, in approving the conduct of his miniſters, as a mark of diſaffection to himſelf. They know many things are not of a nature to fall under the public cognizance, whence they ſuppoſe every thing is a ſecret of ſtate, wherein no private perſon can form an opinion; forgetting that ſome

check

check is neceſſary to human infirmity, that power without controul or reply is too much for nature to bear, and what no well-intentioned miniſter would deſire; for truth and uprightneſs never fear the ſtricteſt examination, provided it be made with fairneſs and candour, and upon a matter whereinto the enquirer can have a thorough inſight.

Theſe oppoſite diſpoſitions are not attended with any miſchievous or very troubleſome conſequences in moſt other parts of the kingdom; they only ſerve to give a poignancy to diſcourſe, and find employment for perſons of great leiſure, who, being bred to no buſineſs or profeſſion, nor having laid in ſufficient ſtores of learning to furniſh entertainment for their thoughts, would feel the time hang heavy upon their hands, if it were not for the inexhauſtable theme of politics.

As for the conteſts in corporations, I take them to ariſe chiefly from another

other ſource, the ſtruggle there is, who ſhall bear the greateſt ſway in elections; and parties are miniſterial, or anti-miniſterial by accident, becauſe their rivals have taken the oppoſite ſide before them.

I do not imagine the inhabitants of this county are more contentious or inflammable in their conſtitutions than the reſt of our countrymen; nor have they any peculiar caſt of mind that ſhould make them more jealous or miſtruſtful of one another: a meer difference of ſentiment cannot make them worſe than it does others. The ſpirit of liberty, and that of loyalty, are commendable in themſelves, 'tis then only they become blameable, when there is any exceſs or extravagance in the manner of exerting them; and nothing is more likely to carry thoſe good qualities into exceſs and extravagance, than dividing ourſelves into clubs and parties.

Therefore,

Therefore, my ſon, have a good eſteem of your neighbours; be ready to join with them in any intercourſe of friendſhip or civility; be glad of every opportunity to converſe with them, except in their political clubs and aſſemblies; for there they become quite another ſort of perſons, acquiring a narrowneſs and ferocity that is not in their natures.

Nor do I believe they would ever have run into cabals and party meetings, if left to their own good ſenſe and diſcretion; but are unwarily drawn into them by the repeated inſinuations of a few crafty perſons, who take advantage of their open generous tempers to work private ends of their own, and abuſing that confidence they are apt to place in every one who ſhews a face of concern for their ſecurity, endeavour to ſet them againſt one another with the groundleſs terrors of Jacobitiſm, fanaticiſm, and miniſterial influence.

But

But do not you liſten to their ſuggeſtions, ſhould the ſame little artifice be practiſed in your days. Conſider with yourſelf, how unlikely it is there ſhould be many well-wiſhers to the Pretender among us; for, becauſe there were many Jacobites formerly, it does not follow there muſt be ſuch now.

Some believed themſelves bound, under the tie of conſcience, to favour the intereſts of a perſon, to whom they had ſworn allegiance. Your good churchmen were apprehenſive the diſſenters might gain too great a ſway in public councils, to the detriment, or overthrow, of the eſtabliſhed religion. Our people have a natural averſeneſs to foreigners: they figured to themſelves a king of another communion, who would impoſe new doctrines, introduce ſtrange cuſtoms, and overwhelm us with an inundation of foreigners, to ſeize upon every place of truſt, or profit, in the kingdom.

But now the tables are turn'd: his Majeſty has paſſed more of his life in this, than any other country; he joins in all our forms of worſhip; he is by a long and auſpicious reign become, if I may be pardoned the expreſſion, one of our familiar acquaintance; the royal family are *Engliſh* born; our offices are filled, and our honours enjoyed, by our own countrymen.

Shall we then, out of meer wantonneſs, exchange an indulgent, well-known Sovereign, under whoſe paternal care we have grown up, for a ſtranger, a foreigner, a penſioner of our greateſt enemies, a perſecutor by religion, whom our eyes have not ſeen, nor our ears ſcarce ever heard of, but with affright?

Will the proprietors of thoſe immenſe ſums in the publick funds be willing to ſee their own, their children, or their friends eſtates, wip'd away with a ſpunge by one, who will urge they were

were raiſed upon an illegal authority, and by wicked contributions, to keep him out of his right? Nor can they hope for any compenſation by the reduction of taxes; for all will be ſcarce enough to ſatisfy the hunger of thoſe needy mountaineers, that muſt be inſtrumental towards bringing him in, and repay his good allies the expences they have been at, in maintaining him ſo long, or in promoting his advancement.

Will the owners of abbey-lands, although permitted to enjoy them during the reigns of his pretended anceſtors, think themſelves ſafe under an eſtabliſhed popery, when ſwarms of prieſts will be perpetually working upon men's ſcruples, and thoſe whom they cannot perſuade, they will render infamous for living on the profits of ſacrilege, 'till every poſſeſſor is either drawn by fear, or drove by ſhame, to a reſtitution.

It is not credible, that any men in their ſenſes, ſhould be ſo in love with

bigotry and ſlavery, and ſo beſotted with that enormous doctrine of *many made for one*, as to give up their fortunes, their liberties, their happineſs, to a perſon who has no other claim to lord over them than a conteſted genealogy.

And if the thing were doubtful in itſelf, we have lately had the moſt irrefragable proof that it is otherwiſe in fact. We all remember the time when the young adventurer had penetrated into the heart of this kingdom, with an army of Highlanders and *Frenchmen* at his heels: our enemies were ſucceſsful abroad, and had filled every port upon the continent, with troops and tranſports to pour into any chink that ſhould be opened for them.

Here was a teſt that could not fail of trying how our affections ſtood; for any conſiderable commotion or diviſion might have endangered our ruin. But did any perſon of credit or conſequence join in the cauſe of rebellion? No, not one: which is a certain proof there were

were very few whoſe diſpoſitions inclined them to embrace ſo tempting an opportunity.

On the other hand, the preſent Diſſenters have nothing in them to be dreaded: they are a quiet, inoffenſive ſet of people, raiſing no out-cries againſt the church, but often joining with her in repelling the attacks made againſt revealed religion; ſeldom writing or ſpeaking againſt our eſtabliſhed forms and diſcipline, and ſatisfied with the protection afforded them, whereby they can enjoy their ſcruples in ſecurity. That ſpirit of enthuſiaſm, which raiſed ſuch combuſtions of old, is now all drawn off into another channel by the methodiſts, where, though it be very pernicious to many private perſons, it is not in the leaſt dangerous to the ſtate.

Nor is miniſterial influence ſo formidable as ſome affect to repreſent it: if it really were, the bad effects of it muſt have been ſeverely felt e'er now; for,

for, conſidering how long it has been complained of, we muſt have found ourſelves, by this time, in the loweſt ſtate of poverty and ſlavery. I will not be ſo partial to the great, as to believe them angels, ſo perfectly exempt from that fondneſs for power, incident to human nature, as in no inſtance ever to prefer their own intereſts before the public good. But ſhould any dangerous enlargement of the prerogative, any encroachment upon the rights of the ſubject, be attempted, the country would quickly take the alarm. Or ſhould ſteps be taken that had a remote tendency to thoſe pernicious conſequences, there are diſcerning perſons enough, who would uſe that freedom of ſpeech, and of the preſs, which we enjoy beyond moſt nations under the ſun, to open the eyes of their compatriots.

And when meaſures are purſuing wherein the country does not acquieſce, it wants neither courage nor ability to interpoſe effectually, and that without

riot

riot or ſedition, without taking illegal or unwarrantable methods; of which we have two remarkable inſtances in the exciſe ſcheme, and the *Jews* act.

It is nothing to my purpoſe, whether the popular notions upon either of thoſe two caſes were right or wrong; I produce them only to ſhew there is ſo much of democracy in our conſtitution, that whenever the people do but fancy a meaſure inexpedient, they can rectify it without violence or diſturbances, meerly by declaring their ſentiments; for the bare voice of the people, when it is general, carries a force that no power nor influence can reſiſt.

Nor is this voice leſs frequently exerted in the ſervice of the crown, than of the people. When rebellion was darting upon us like lightening, what was it that put ſo ſudden a ſtop to its progreſs, but that univerſal cry of loyalty that echoed from every corner of the kingdom? And at this very inſtant,

ſtant, I take it to contribute not a little towards ſtrengthening his Majeſty's hands, and quickening his armaments, or adding weight to his negociations, that we are all unanimous as one man in expreſſing a juſt indignation againſt the invaders of our rights and poſſeſſions.

But the force of this voice lies wholly in its being general, which it can never be, unleſs when prompted by reaſon; for the road of reaſon is one, but the mazes of paſſion are infinite: a number of people may argue a matter over coolly together till they agree in ſome one opinion; their deciſion may ſometimes be erroneous in things of leſſer moment, yet in thoſe affecting the ſtate, or their national privileges, they will not want diſcernment; but if each man is wedded to prejudices of his own, they can never come to any agreement: wherefore it is of the utmoſt importance to ſecure, as much as poſſible, this main pillar of government, and bulwark of liberty, by teaching

the

the people unanimity, and to make the beſt uſe of their underſtandings.

But forming them into clubs and cabals, is not the way to improve their faculties much: what advancement in the art of reaſoning is to be expected from ſuch academies? where a whiſper is to paſs for evidence, a news-paper for a record of court, and an idle report, from I know not whom, to carry the authority of goſpel; where clamour ſtands in the place of argument, poſitiveneſs is taken for certainty, and party maxims are received as firſt principles not to be controverted. The lectures read there are more likely to inflame the paſſions, than clear the eye of the mind; they are calculated for the benefit of the profeſſor, rather than of the ſcholars; for, by throwing them off their guard, they lay them open to any impreſſions that may beſt anſwer his own ſelfiſh ends.

Party rage, ſays a judicious author, is the madneſs of many for the gain of a

few; and ſure it is venturing too much, to gratify the leaders of a cabal at the hazard of loſing one's wits in their ſervice.

I wiſh the members of our two ſocieties would conſider ſeriouſly, the conſequences of what they are doing; how fatal it would prove to their own true intereſts, to the proſperity of their country, and to the public peace, if this humour ſhould ſpread throughout the nation. Let them reflect, that while they think only of enjoying themſelves in a ſelect company they like, they are unwarily ſowing the ſeeds of diſcord, confuſion, and civil war; beſides, they debaſe themſelves below their inferiors by entering into theſe conſortſhips: a man of ſtrong ſpirits and warm conſtitution, may outſhine them without the tenth part of their learning or endowments.

For a few talents, and a very ſmall ſtock of knowledge, will do to make a figure in a club; there needs no more

of

of oratory, than loudneſs and vehemence; of logic, than heat and confidence; or of politics, than a quickneſs of invention at ſcandal, and a myſterious ſolemnity of expreſſion; and for toaſting of proper healths, the principal qualification, a good voice and a good ſwallow are all that is requiſite.

He may fetch his ſtores of argument from the daily papers or magazines, and if freſh matter is not duly ſuggeſted, he may repeat the ſame obſervations and the ſame wit over and over again at every club; for a party jeſt is never worn thread-bare, and a party argument never anſwered, even when it is confuted.

When his name is once up, he may hope for benefits reſulting therefrom, that he could never have acquired by the ordinary methods of induſtry and application; clients and cuſtomers will flock in apace; for to be ſure every member will employ an honeſt cock of the club, without further enquiry into

his character, and recommend him, with all his might, to preferment.

Are there any perſons of ſuperior merit, upon the ſame line of life with himſelf, that ſtand in his way? How eaſy is it to ſupplant them with an auditory already prepoſſeſſed in their diſfavour? For when people are drawn into a folly, they naturally take a diſtaſte to all who will not join to keep them in countenance: any little aſperſion will fix a blot in the eſcutcheon of thoſe they diſlike, every ſurmiſe or conjecture will be received with greedineſs, eſpecially when delivered by one whom they are uſed to look upon as an oracle; for he that can diſcern the ſeveral intereſts of a whole nation, or penetrate into the moſt ſecret deſigns of a miniſtry, many times, perhaps with greater exactneſs than the miniſtry themſelves, muſt of courſe be an infallible judge of men and things upon ſmaller occaſions.

Then,

Then, how pretty it is to be ſhewn by the children with their finger, as one paſſes along; to have ſtrangers aſk, Who that is to whom the company pay ſuch deference? and be told, Oh! that is Mr. Such-a-one, a principal man at our club!

How ſoothing it muſt be to vanity; to boaſt at ſome great man's table of the mighty influence one has in the cabal; and to brag among the latter of the familiarities enjoyed with the former!

Beſides the mountains of expectation that may be raiſed upon the uſefulneſs one is of, and favour one ſhall ſtand in, with the ſide that is, or will be, uppermoſt. A forward imagination may run on from ſtep to ſtep, like the country-girl with her baſket of eggs, till it ſoars to a pitch, above the wealth and credit of *Olivarez* or *Richlieu*.

But,

But, my ſon, be not deluded by this fantaſtic grandeur, ſo far as to purſue the like methods of attaining it. A forced reputation, beyond what a man has intrinſic merit to ſupport, is but a bubble, that waves about in the air, caſting all the colours of a diamond, and ſparkling like another ſun for a moment; and then burſts.

Nor are our buſtling men really of that importance they figure to themſelves. They only ſooth their fancies with reflecting, like the fly on the chariot wheel, What a duſt do we raiſe about the country! for, in theſe party motions, there is generally ſomebody elſe at bottom, that has art enough to direct the leaders without their perceiving it. Wherefore there is no ſuch mighty temptation to aſpire at being one of their number.

Much leſs be cajoled to act a ſubordinate part under them: they are, themſelves, but engines play'd off by ſome

ſome ſhrewder hand than their own; and, of all humilities, never condeſcend to be made the tool of a tool.

Some, perhaps, there are, who, being to make their way into the world from unfavourable beginnings, are forced to comply with the neceſſity of the times: if the country where their lot is caſt, be ſo totally rent into diviſions, that no encouragement is given to induſtry without a ſpice of party zeal; it is excuſable in them to liſt under ſome colours, where they may find their beſt advantage.

But you, my child, by the bleſſing of heaven, are placed in a ſtate of independence; the neceſſaries and conveniencies of life are ready provided to your hands; nor will you have any need to tag after the follies of others for a ſubſiſtence: therefore it would be unpardonable in you to let yourſelf be overperſuaded, by dint of importunity, into any compliance that your judg-

ment

ment diſapproves, and your ſpirit diſdains.

Your ſituation will give you ſome degree of credit in your country; be it your care to aim at no more than belongs to you. The ſecret of happineſs lies rather in moderating our deſires, than diſcerning the means of gratifying them. If you can make yourſelf indeed a worthy man, by the beſt improvement of your natural endowments, and by a diſcreet, obliging, friendly behaviour among your neighbours, the due ſhare of eſtimation will follow without your ſeeking.

But if you give way to an itch of popularity, you muſt expect to meet with many mortifying diſappointments; or, ſhould you have the uncommon luck to eſcape them, you will find your longings encreaſe, in proportion to your ſucceſs; ſo that, after years of toiling, you will be as far from contentment, as at your firſt ſetting out.

I do not wiſh you to enter the liſts of public life: the road of ambition is like that over the *Alps*, where the traveller thinks every ſteep aſcent he ſees is the laſt difficulty he has to ſtruggle with; but before he has well ſurmounted that, another, and another mountain diſcovers itſelf behind. A private ſtation is more ſatisfactory to a man's ſelf, and will make him more uſeful to the community, unleſs he has very uncommon abilities, of which there is great danger he will form a wrong judgment.

Wherefore be it your firſt ſtudy, to diſtinguiſh what lies properly within your ſphere, and what is beyond it: remember politics is a ſcience, as well as law or phyſic, which requires the application of a whole life to learn compleatly. Nor is perfection to be had without practice, as well as parts and theory; many public meaſures a private gentleman is not a competent judge of; for how great ſoever his na-

tural ſagacity may be, he wants opportunities to diſcover their ſprings, or trace out their tendencies: he will not meet with things every day that touch the intereſts of perſons near him, or will produce conſequences obvious to every good underſtanding.

Therefore, if cuſtom obliges you to deſcant upon all ſubjects *extempore*, do it with calmneſs and indifference from ſuch lights as occur, without opiniativeneſs or ſollicitude to maintain your theſis. Where the caſe admits and requires your interfering, keep your judgment entire, that you may diſcern clearly what is feaſible and proper for you to do; and if, upon particular occaſions, you ſhould find it neceſſary to apply to the paſſions of your company, beware of being entangled in your own net, or ſuffering your own paſſions to be engaged by the topics you employ with others; for of all deceits, the moſt fatal is that of deceiving oneſelf. It may be ſometimes expedient to raiſe a warmth in others, but you can never be

be too cool yourſelf; even when you put on a face of earneſtneſs, poſſeſs your own mind in tranquility.

Cheriſh in your heart an equal ſentiment both of loyalty and liberty, which are ſo far from being incompatible, that they preſerve one another, in their genuine purity, from any mixture of whimſy or extravagance.

Place a juſt confidence in your governors, but not an implicit faith; give a fair hearing to thoſe who charge them with miſmanagement, but do not ſwallow their ſuggeſtions with greedineſs. Any man, who does not wilfully ſhut his eyes, muſt ſee the abſurdity of oppoſing an adminiſtration conſtantly for oppoſition ſake, or running headlong into all their meaſures, without conſidering whether calculated for the public good, or advancement of their own power.

By one extreme he raiſes a temptation to abuſes, that might not otherwiſe

be thought of; he betrays the truſt reſiding in every member of the community, to be vigilant of the general welfare; he does what in him lies towards giving up the rights of his fellow ſubjects, and making their properties precarious.

By the other he gives occaſion to an increaſe of places and ſalaries, and juſtifies corruption by furniſhing it with the plea of neceſſity; for if nobody, who has not ſome dependance or expectation, will ever give the miniſters a good word in their moſt ſalutary ſchemes, they will naturally have recourſe to influence: government muſt be ſupported, and if it cannot have friends for love, it muſt get them for money. 'Tis pity gentlemen do not reflect a little, that while they indulge an idle, ſplenetic humour of cenſuring, they take the moſt effectual method to leſſen the income of their eſtates, and enhance the price of all commodities they purchaſe, by loading both with additional taxes.

Be

Be not over forward to put yourſelf in motion, but reſerve your activity for weighty occaſions, or thoſe wherein you have a probable view of doing ſervice. If you ſee any thing you diſlike, but cannot oppoſe with effect, bear it patiently; for every time you beſtir yourſelf to no purpoſe, you waſte your ſtrength that will be wanted at a fitter ſeaſon.

A man in private ſtation, muſt not think himſelf of conſequence enough to give the turn in any public affair; he is of account only in conjunction with others upon the ſame rank of independency: yet the weight of the whole conſiſts in the united weights of all the individuals, and nothing cements them together more ſtrongly or quickly, than having a regard and good opinion of each other; but nothing improves that opinion more than calmneſs and moderation of conduct.

Where-

Wherefore, be cautious of impairing your credit by indiſcretion. You have obſerved, when we have been out on hunting, how the young dogs, that run yelping about the field when the pack is at a fault, are totally diſregarded; 'tis the ſtaunch hounds, who never open unleſs the ſcent be ſtrong and ſure, that always lead the general cry.

Let your conduct proceed in an equal tenour, without prejudice or partiality, to any man, or ſet of men: aſſiſt in the ſchemes, and promote the intereſts of every one, ſo far as it can be done without detriment to thoſe of others.

Manage ſo, that if your neighbours will rank you under ſome claſs, they may call you a Moderate Whig, rather than by any other denomination: but do you yourſelf diſclaim all marks of diſtinction; deſire no appellation but that of an honeſt *Engliſhman*, a ſincere, hearty lover of your country, and every indi-

individual thereto belonging; and endeavour to ſquare your actions agreeably to that character: for in ſo doing you will act moſt conformably to the precepts of chriſtianity, the lights of natural reaſon, and the trueſt wiſdom.

Religion is not promoted by crying, I am of *Paul*, or I of *Apollos*, but by uniting in brotherly love againſt immorality and prophaneneſs, and looking upon all chriſtians as fellow-members of the ſame body: nor does ſound philoſophy drive men into ſects or ſeparate intereſts, but teaches them to conſider themſelves as citizens of the world, or that portion of it wherewith they ſtand connected in any relation. In like manner prudence will direct you to avoid a heat, and narrowneſs of temper, to believe your own contained in the general good, and to ſhape your courſe always by that ſtar, whether it ſhall guide you to the right-hand or to the left.

This

This will gain you the eſteem of all diſcerning perſons, and a fair repute among your acquaintance and neighbours; your enemies themſelves, ſhould you have any, will honour you ſecretly in their hearts, at the very time they revile you openly with their tongues. You will enjoy a perpetual ſerenity and ſatisfaction of mind, without vexation or diſappointment: you will taſte the ſweets of the life you are placed in, unembittered by the gall of paſſion, and the cloſe of it will have an equal compoſure with all the reſt: for in that laſt ſcene of diſtreſs, wherein there is no ſun-ſhine upon the proſpect before you, except what is reflected from your paſt behaviour, your comfort will not ariſe from your having made a noiſe in the world, or been a zealous partizan, but from having improved your talents to the beſt advantage, made them the moſt extenſively uſeful, and ſteadily adhered to the dictates of your underſtanding.

FINIS.

29 JY 67